

**Policy Team-IV****Nixon Advisers Favor  
More Welfare Work**

Reporters of The Washington Post have intensively interviewed many of the men who, while not a part of the campaign staff, are contributing ideas and advice on national policy to Vice President Richard M. Nixon. These men, businessmen, Government officials and university professors, were asked what they think Government should do in America today. This is the fourth of a series of articles based on these interviews.

By Julius Ducha

Staff Reporter

Then men who advise Vice President Richard M. Nixon on welfare and labor think that they can win more arguments with him than they did with President Eisenhower.

The advisers believe that the Government ought to take better care of its citizens who need help than it has in the past.

Although these advisers are or have been a part of the Eisenhower Administration, they think that the Government has failed to do all it

could have in the last 8 years to aid people in distress.

The three principal advisers to Nixon on welfare and labor are Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Arthur S. Flemming and his predecessor, Marion B. Folsom.

All three have worked with Nixon at Cabinet meetings to broaden welfare and labor programs. Sometimes they won their fights, but often they lost

that has generally been more conservative than are their own views.

#### Republican Battle Cry

Opposition to the welfare state was a Republican battle cry as recently as the first Eisenhower campaign in 1952. Put there is no debate among the Nixon advisers over the desirability of expanding and improving such key welfare programs as social security, public assistance and unemployment compensation.

The advisers agree that these programs not only have helped millions when they were in need, but also have been a bulwark to the economy in times of recession.

The two of advisers would not, however, expand welfare programs so that they would embrace a system of Government health insurance for all or support vast public works programs to provide jobs for the unemployed.

Nor do the advisers advocate the establishment of any new welfare programs.

Rather, they would carefully expand and improve existing programs. Here are some of their ideas, not all of which are necessarily supported by all three of the advisers.

- Medical care ought to be provided for the aged, either under the Social Security system or under the Federal-state program that has been proposed by the Administration, passed by the House and is now under consideration in the Senate.

- The disability insurance program ought to be broadened to include all persons covered by the Social Security system rather than only those who are 50 years old or over.

- The requirement that a person must live a year in a state before he can receive public assistance ought to be abolished.

- Relief payments should be based solely on need rather than divided into grants for persons with dependent children, payment to the needy, and elderly or assistance to the blind as at present.

- Greater emphasis should be placed on Federal-state programs which make it possible for retired persons to live by themselves in housing projects built to meet the needs of the elderly.

- Medical research programs being carried on by the Federal Government ought to be expanded because, in Folsom's words, "they help all the people."

- The minimum wage program must be kept abreast of the cost of living and its coverage must continue to be expanded gradually beyond the limits set out in legislation now under consideration in Congress.

- Unemployment compensation must remain under the supervision of the states, but the states must improve benefits and lengthen their duration because this program is one of the best antidotes to a recession.

- The President needs a more flexible method for dealing with strikes, such as the steel impasse of last year, which create national emergencies.

Such are the ideas which the Nixon advisers throw out to him at breakfast, at lunch, in informal conversation, in telephone calls and during more formal meetings.

They are ideas which such patriarchs of the Republican Party as former President Herbert Hoover and Alf Landon, the 1936 GOP presidential nominee, would find repugnant and downright "socialistic."

Nor would Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.), the new spokesman for the extreme conservative wing of the Republican Party, agree with any of the ideas expressed by the Nixon advisers.

Washington, might find some of the Mitchell-Flemming-Folsom ideas a bit startling.

#### Liberal Wing of Party

The Nixon advisers, representing the liberal wing of the Republican Party—men who accept the 1960s and are ready to try to drag their right-wing fellow party members kicking and screaming into the 20th Century, to paraphrase Adlai E. Stevenson's 1956 campaign phrase.

Although the advisers know Nixon well and have worked with him intimately over the last seven years, they quickly point out that their ideas are not necessarily his.

Nevertheless, their close relationship with him over the years indicate that Nixon must like the way they look at welfare and labor problems.

Mitchell is Nixon's closest friend among the three. The Secretary of Labor, who had long experience as an industrial relations expert for two New York City department stores before entering the Cabinet in 1953, worked out with Nixon a settlement which prevented the resumption of the steel strike last January.

#### Secretary 2 Years

Flemming has been Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare for only two years, but he has been in and out of Government for 20 years.

An imaginative educator-administrator, Fleming not only has been a member of the Civil Service Commission and director of defense mobilization. He also has been president of Ohio Wesleyan University and director of the School of Public Affairs at American University.

A Washington reporter in the early 1930s, Fleming has always had a talent for keeping his name in the newspapers. As Welfare Secretary he has championed consumers' interests while angering cranberry growers, dairy farmers and others with his stiff stand for the enforcement of Federal food and drug regulations.

Fleming is far more aggressive than was Folsom, whom he succeeded as Welfare Secretary in 1958.

Folsom is one of the men who helped to write the original Social Security Act of 1933. He also has helped to revise and modernize the legislation over the past 25 years.

**Pioneered Pension Plans**

A quiet businessman, Folsom pioneered private pension plans as an executive for the Eastman Kodak Co. Now 66 and past retirement age himself, Folsom has gone back to work for Kodak.

Before becoming Welfare Secretary Folsom served as Under Secretary of the Treasury when George M. Humphrey headed the Department. Although Folsom is ready and eager to advise Nixon on 'axes as well as on welfare programs, Nixon apparently is more interested in Folsom's 'axes' on welfare than in his fiscal philosophy.

"The individual," says Folsom, "has the prime responsibility to look after himself, but the Federal Government must provide basic minimum protections."

Folsom cites the expansion of private pension programs since the establishment of the Social Security system as a good example of the way government, business and individuals can work out welfare problems.

#### Housing Needs Noted

In the field of care and assistance to the aged, the Nixon advisers stress the need for programs to help people get out of nursing homes and hospitals so that they can lead useful, independent lives.

Pilot projects that have been conducted throughout the country indicate that many elderly persons in institutions can be treated so they

even take jobs.

The advisers also would like to see more housing built to accommodate the special needs of retired persons. In the opinion of the advisers, the Government ought to assist the private industry through mortgage guarantees and similar programs to encourage the construction of such housing. So far the Government has offered only a limited amount of aid in this area.

Folsom points to the Hill-Burton hospital construction legislation, passed during the Truman Administration, as another example of cooperation between all levels of Government and private organizations which operate hospitals. He thinks that the program now ought to concentrate on rebuilding hospitals in large cities.

Finally, Folsom believes that the Government should establish a program to find out why so many Americans

done to get them off public assistance rolls.

#### Jobless Aid Stressed

Both Folsom and Mitchell stress the importance of a vastly improved unemployment compensation program. They agree that adequate unemployment benefits can pour more money into the economy at a time of recession than can public works projects.

"During the 1937-38 recession there was a great outcry over the need for public works projects," Mitchell notes. "But by the time you get sound public works projects under way—as opposed to leaf-raking—you may well be past the trough of the business downturn."

"What is more important in times of recession is unemployment compensation. We need much wider coverage, additional benefits, and benefits for a longer duration of time."

"Consider the \$1 billion public works program advocated by machines.

ing talked about. \$4 billion was being poured into the economy through the unemployment compensation program. If we had had an adequate program that figure could easily have been \$6 billion."

In discussing labor legislation, Mitchell said that the most pressing need is for better ways to settle strikes which cause a national emergency. He did not indicate, however, what he thought those methods should be. Now the President can only invoke an 80-day injunction ordering workers back to their jobs.

#### Human Problem Cited

Mitchell is also concerned about the human problems which will result from automation. He believes that both the government and unions will have to adjust their thinking to take into account the inevitability of automation and to develop ways to help men and women who are displaced by machines.

ment compensation program which Mitchell envisions will help displaced workers to some extent, but the Nixon advisers think additional government aid may be necessary. The advisers have no specific recommendations, however.

"Unions," Mitchell says, "are going to have to face up to the technical changes which are going on in some of our heavy industries and which will force a reduction in employment."

"The unions have done a good job of organizing the production worker but now they are going to have to look to the service worker for any increases in their membership."

None of the Nixon advisers indicated that they wanted to cut back any labor or welfare programs.

Nor do the advisers want to build on the existing programs, practically all of which date to the days of the New Deal. The advisers also are looking ahead and think-

as water and air pollution as well as the displacement of workers by automation.

The advisers believe that Nixon is doing some thinking on his own about these future problems, too. They believe that he would do considerably more than merely continue to consolidate the welfare and labor gains of the New Deal.

**THURSDAY:** Vice President Nixon is carefully building up an image to project as the potential leader of the Free World.

#### Chou at Celebration

**HONG KONG, Aug. 23** Chinese Communist Premier Chou En-lai was among top Communist leaders who attended a reception in Peking today to celebrate the 16th anniversary of the liberation of Romania by Russian forces, the New China News Agency reported.

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